

## Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY AF/E:GWSCOTT:NB

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R 310317Z JAN 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T STATE 024702

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MILL, PINI, KE, ET, FR, US, UR, SO

SUBJECT: US VIEWS OF FUTURE OF TERRITORY OF AFARS AND ISSAS

REF: NAIROBI 0822

1. IT APPEARS AT PRESENT THAT INDEPENDENCE OF TFAI IS  
LIKELY TO BE GRANTED SOMETIME IN 1977. IT IS IMPORTANT  
THAT ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE BE CAREFULLY MANAGED BY FRENCH  
IN ORDER TO PREVENT INSTABILITY IN THE HORN. WE INTEND  
KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH FRENCH RE DEVELOPMENTS.WE AND  
THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF PRECIPITOUS  
ACTION.

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2. WHILE DJIBOUTI OCCUPIES A STRATEGIC LOCATION, THE

MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IS THAT IT IS THE TERMINUS OF THE ADDIS ABABA-DJIBOUTI RAILWAY, ETHIOPIA'S ONLY SURE OUT-LET TO THE SEA. US GOALS IN THIS MATTER, WHICH WE ASSUME GOK SHARES, ARE STABILITY IN HORN AND GUARANTEED USE OF THE RAIL AND PORT BY ETHIOPIA. WE TEND TO BELIEVE THIS WOULD BE BEST ASSURED BY AN INDEPENDENT TFAI GUARANTEED BY THE FRENCH.

3. WHEN GOF ANNOUNCED ITS DECISION TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO TFAI, IT STATED THAT FRANCE WAS READY TO GUARANTEE THE "INTEGRITY AND SECURITY" OF THE FUTURE STATE. FRANCE

HAS ATTEMPTED TO SECURE GUARANTEES OF THAT SECURITY FROM NEIGHBORING STATES, FROM OAU AND FROM ARAB LEAGUE. AS YET NO FIRM GUARANTEE HAS BEEN FORTHCOMING FROM SOMALIA. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT ONLY EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE WILL BE A FRENCH ONE.

4. NEITHER EGYPT, ISRAEL OR SAUDI ARABIA SUPPORTS SOMALI CLAIMS TO TFAI AND POSITION OF ARAB LEAGUE SEEMS NOT YET TO BE CLEARLY DEVELOPED. AT PRESENT SAUDI ARABIA SUPPORTS INDEPENDENCE UNDER ALI AREF, AN AFAR WHOM THE SOMALIS CHARACTERIZE AS A FRENCH PUPPET. THE ATTITUDES OF THESE STATES ARE A REFLECTION OF A FEAR OF EXPANDED SOVIET INFLUENCE OVER DJIBOUTI SHOULD SOMALIA SUCCEED IN SEIZING OR DOMINATING THE TERRITORY, AS WELL AS A DESIRE NOT TO COMPLICATE THEIR RELATIONS WITH FRANCE. USSR ITSELF, DESPITE ITS CLOSE TIES WITH MOGADISCIO GOVERNMENT, HAS NEVER ENDORSED THE SOMALI CLAIMS. IT TOO PROBABLY DOES NOT DESIRE TO IRRITATE THE FRENCH AND SOVIETS HAVE LITTLE TO GAIN FROM BECOMING INVOLVED IN A DISPUTE WHICH WOULD FURTHER REDUCE THEIR POTENTIAL FOR INFLUENCE WITH ETHIOPIA. THEY ARE PROBABLY CONTINUING TO CAUTION THE SOMALIS AGAINST MOVES WHICH WOULD PRODUCE A WAR, BUT THEIR CAUTIONS MAY NOT BE HEEDDED, AND THEY MAY BE FORCED TO SUPPORT SOMALIA TO PRESERVE THE POSITION GSDR HAS GIVEN THEM IN HORN.

5. SOMALI STRATEGY APPEARS TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO DISCOUR-  
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AGE SUPPORT FOR FRENCH TRANSFER OF POWER TO "A PUPPET REGIME" BY OFFERING PARIS CERTAIN INDUCEMENTS TO COMPROMISE ON ITS FORMULA FOR INDEPENDENCE. ONE INDUCEMENT IS SOMALI ACQUIESCENCE TO CONTINUED FRENCH ACCESS TO NAVAL FACILITIES IF A "GENUINELY ELECTED INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT" SO DESIRES. IF PARIS FAILS TO RESPOND TO THESE OVERTURES, PRESIDENT SIAD WILL BE TEMPTED TO STEP UP PRESSURE THROUGH A CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL SUBVERSION AND

VIOLENCE, AND THUS ATTEMPT TO DISCOURAGE THE FRENCH FROM REMAINING.

6. USG WILL BE FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS RE TFAI CLOSELY, AND WILL KEEP IN TOUCH WITH GOK AND OTER GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAVE A DIRECT INTEREST IN THIS AREA.

7. YOU SHOULD HAVE RECEIVED BY NOW INR REPORT NO. 260 OF DECEMBER 23, 1975, ENTITLED ,PROSPECTS FOR THE FRENCH TERRITORY OF THE AFARS AND THE ISSAS," WHICH IS THE LAT-EST GENERAL STUDY OF THE QUESTION. KISSINGER

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NNN

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